524 857 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than a toy, which they learn to make from an older boy or from their father. But by the time a boy is six or seven his father presents him with a real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than the large yew war and hunting bows of the men, and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice shooting at targets around the camp. They will not begin to do any hunting for several years, but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests of their elders. These will be described in more detail in a later section since it is older boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

• 868 857 481 Another favorite activity of all Klamath children is swimming. Very young children are not allowed near the water, but by five or six years of age the child is paddling around in shallow water under the watchful eye of parents or of older children who help the younger ones to learn. The teacher holds the child around the waist and tells him to splash with his arms and legs. In other instances the child learns by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

524 857 Several games are played in the water. The children race to see who will be the first to get into the water. Then, teams of four or five line up opposite each other and splash until one side gives up. There are also diving contests to see who can go the farthest underwater before coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[35] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221 During the winter there is little economic activity, and families spend most of the time in

[35] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

[p. 348A] (ca. 1875)

50 and saw us. They laughed and laughed and
868 said, "Look, she doesn't know how to use the pole." Then they told me how to push it a little way at a time and lift it up and push again.

Some children start to use paddles by themselves, too. Adults see them trying to do so and tell them how to kneel in the bottom and dip the paddle in and out of the water without splashing. Light cedar paddles are used, and small ones are made for children. Similarly, shorter poles are often made for the children.

222 The principal vegetable food of the Klamath
868 is the seed of the wild water-lily, known as
462 wokas. Many other seed, root, and berry products are also utilized in varying amounts.[35] It
[262] is the women who do the gathering, and there is a strong feeling that a girl cannot learn too soon to contribute to the family food supply by helping her mother gather these products, although youngsters are never forced into work.

Even very small girls receive a tiny digging stick as a toy. With the sticks the girls play around the camp, digging up clumps of grass to be used as "canas" and "ipos" for feeding their dolls. Children often accompany their mothers after berries, seeds, and roots. They are allowed to run about as they please and only help if they wish. When they get tired or hungry, they go back to camp. Both boys and girls help occasionally with berrying. Parents complain that the youngsters eat more than they save, but do not scold them.

251 Part of the activity during the berrying
868 season is, of course, the drying of the berries for storage. One woman recalls seeing this as a child and wanting to help.

> Up in the mountains I saw how they dried huckleberries. They dug a little ditch and put the berries in and made a fire alongside. You have to watch the fire for a day and a night. I remember seeing this when I was about ten. I wanted to dry some berries, too; but my mother didn't want me to use any of her berries. She said I might ruin them so I'd have to get my own. I went and picked some, and she showed me how to dry them.

222 When a girl is nine or ten, her mother
868 gives her a real digging stick of slightly smaller dimensions than her own. The girl is also given a small carrying basket to wear on her back and a basket to put the roots in before they are transferred to the carrying basket. The mother shows the girl where to go to get the best roots and how to insert the stick to loosen the earth all the way around the root before prying it out. Apparently there is little attempt to force the girl to work hard the first

---

[35] Coville (1897), pp. 87-103, idem (1904), pp. 725-739, and Spier, pp. 166 f.

[p. 347A]

857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target.
526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

• 868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules [53] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures be- [262] gins in late childhood. The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and 221 game are also used. The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[25]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of
868 special significance and attended by ritual and taboo.[26] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. While [251] the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys
226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

---

[25] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[26] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

[p. 347-B]

226 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detach-
• 868 able heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other spears. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 The manufacture of nets is an important
887 winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 Before taking part in certain types of
868 fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[85]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

---

[85] See Coville (1897), p. 89; idem (1904), p. 738; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

222 few times, but many girls are proud of their
868 ability to dig a lot of roots, for which they receive praise at home.

I liked to dig up camas where the dirt was soft. My mother had a long stick, and I had a little one. I had a basket on my back and a little basket in my hand. My, I thought it was smart to be able to dig up those roots. I was sorry when evening came, and we had to go home. We brought the camas home and dumped them on the ground to dry.
252 When I saw my mother fix a pit for baking
868 the camas, I wanted to do the same. My girl friend and I had a hard time getting the bark to put in the pit, but we did it. We had to get grass and a lot of wood, too. You have to make the rocks hot just like for a sweatbath and put them in the pit with wet grass over so the camas will steam. Then the camas is put in with dirt over it and a fire on top. My mother watched me when I made the pit and told me when I got the wrong kind of grass; she said it would make the camas taste bitter. I kept asking my mother how to do it, and she told me.

222 Several informants stated that the first
852 roots a girl digs are of special importance. They are given to her grandmother, who blesses the girl with a statement to the effect that henceforth the girl will be a good worker. Not
224 all families seem to follow this custom. The
852 first fruits custom is more strictly followed for the first large game a boy kills.[87]

222 The wokas harvest from mid-August to late September is a time for general gatherings and activities, one of the most pleasantly anticipated times of the year.[88] Women go out in the canoes early in the morning and remain on the marsh all day. Apparently the mother does not really urge or coerce her daughter to start helping with the wokas. As with other products, it may be the girl herself who takes the initiative.

222 We thought we'd get some wokas. We
868 knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were

[87] Compare Spier, p. 168, and Voegelin, element 137.

[88] The most complete account of wokas gathering is found in Coville (1904), pp. 725-739.

222 868 always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them.

A girl gradually learns to gather all of the wild products which are used, gaining most of the knowledge of where and when to gather the different crops simply by accompanying her mother. The mother tells the girl where to find the best seeds, berries, and roots. She tells her daughter to look for huckleberries near springs and moist places; she shows her how to follow the little trail left by squirrels in storing nuts; in short, she gives her the information that means the difference between being a good and a mediocre provider.

251 Enough food must be collected from spring to fall to last through the winter, and it is imperative to store it so as to prevent spoilage. Roots are put in caches in the ground. Seeds are stored in sacks between the timbers on the roof of the winter house in such a way that the sacks can be opened from inside the house. Young girls are not trusted with the preparation of the storage pits because an error might ruin the family's entire winter supply. Sometimes [868] girls fix small pits for the roots they have dug by themselves.

I dug up the dirt and put away my sacks of ipos and camas. Then I covered them just the way I saw the old people do.

252 868 A girl begins to learn to cook when she is about ten. As with most other skills, some girls acquire this at an earlier age than others. A girl first learns to roast fish, her mother watching and telling her to be sure that it is cooked thoroughly. A woman also teaches her girl to roast ducks, showing her how to turn the bird so that it will not burn.

Preparation of seed and root foods is more difficult, since they must be ground or pounded before use. The mother shows the girl how to use a flat metate and two-horned muller for wokas. Many girls start to grind wokas first for their dolls.

I was just playing the first time I helped another girl grind the wokas. We used a wokas leaf like the mat they put the

252 seeds on, and then ground them up. We were
• 868 in a hurry to grind the seeds and run down to the water to wash them. My mother told us we'd just waste the wokas if we did it that way. It was hard to move the grinder right to get the seeds to roll off the stone. My mother told me the stone had to be a little rough to grind the wokas right.

285 In late childhood girls also begin to learn
868 how to make mats, baskets, and clothing.[*] Of these, mat making is considered the easiest and is the first attempted. Even in early childhood most girls try to weave tule mats. They make small dome-shaped lodges for their dolls and cover them with mats. The mother or grandmother helps the child whenever there is time. When the girl begins to make larger, more utilitarian mats, her mother gives her the materials and shows her how to use them.

In the wintertime girls sit beside their mother or grandmother as the elders make baskets. The girl is given some of the tules to split with her thumbnail and twist on her thigh. If the girl's twists come unraveled, nothing is said because the materials can be used again. The girls usually soon tire of twisting tules, and they are allowed to do as many or as few as they wish.

Small baskets are made for girls, and often the first basket a girl makes by herself is a tiny one for her dolls. The mother or grandmother starts the basket and shows the girl how to weave it. If the girl's baskets keep coming unraveled, she is teased a little and watched till she gets it correctly. Later the girl makes larger baskets with designs in tule root or porcupine quills. Certain designs are known as "beginners' designs" because they are simple to make. Other designs are much more complex, in particular those which adorn the basket hats. Few girls learn to make the large decorated baskets before they reach maturity. A girl often learns basketry from her mother-in-law.

291 Clothing for the entire family is made by
593 the mother. In pre-white times dress for the wealthy was of the Plains type. Poorer people wore skirts of tule or buckskin and went barefoot. Capes of tule or shredded sagebrush bark were also worn. Very young children went naked. The mother prepares the tules and other materials for skirts and capes, and she is the one to tan and sew hides for skin clothing.

294 The making of clothes is one of the last
868 skills a girl acquires before marriage. In fact, some do not learn the art until after that time. Hides are so valuable that the mother does not want to risk having the girl spoil one.

224 Most boys in late childhood aspire to be-
868 come good hunters. Game food is far less important in the Klamath diet than fish or wokas, and

---

[*] For descriptions of these materials and techniques of manufacture, see Coville (1897), pp. 89-95, Barrett, pp. 253-257, Spier, pp. 173-193, 207-217, and Voegelin, elements 1295-1341, 1388-1416, 1451-1476, 1713-1957a.

[p. 350A]

224 not all men are good hunters.[39] Hides are valu-
• 868 able, however, and a good hunter gains prestige.
Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

[text continues on top of p. 350-B]

CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

867 In about his third year, the child is
867 thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

[text continues on bottom of p. 350-B]

[39] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
868 said that boys give away for luck the first
duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
[787] will later give away their first deer. The
hunting of deer and other large game is done
only by grown men, especially those who have
sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The
art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for
the fully grown although much of the physical
training of boys is directed toward building
strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

-33-

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking" activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area, with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband, who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages, and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house (it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her.

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone, particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,